

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
FAR EAST COMMAND
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART XXIII

"TENSION MOUNTS"

(2 May - 10 Jul 1940)

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THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS
PART TWENTY THREE: TENSION MOUNTS

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 361
(2 May 1940)

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Translated by Lt. Fujio Asano

On the morning of the 12th, as I had previously promised KONOYE, I visited HIRANUMA, the President of the Privy Council, at his residence. I told him about the situation up to date and of the subject of KONOYE's foreign tour. I said: "Due to my carelessness, Prince KONOYE has been misunderstood, and I have even involved you. However, we have come to the conclusion that we should cancel this plan for the present. The Cabinet also has refused to consent to the foreign tour of Prince KONOYE from the standpoint of fulfillment of responsibility to his sovereign. Prince KONOYE said that he decided to cancel the whole plan because he was not that determined about making the trip by troubling the government. Upon understanding this situation, I wish to ask for your kind forgiveness of my carelessness." After hearing what I had to say, HIRANUMA said: "I understood the situation very well. Please extend my best regards to Prince KONOYE. There is no necessity of Prince KONOYE making a special trip to see me tomorrow, so please tell him about it." The problem of the foreign trip of Prince KONOYE was rather annoying, but it was finally cancelled.

The afternoon of the same day, I met Foreign Minister ARITA. He said: "I have made an official announcement clarifying the policy of Japan in regard to the Dutch East Indies. On the other hand, I made it clear to the other countries that Japan does not harbor any territorial

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ambitions in the Dutch East Indies. Without reason, Great Britain had previously notified us that in the event that Japan occupies the Dutch East Indies, there might be internal commotions in Japan, and that there also might arise a difficult diplomatic problem. It is not proper for Japan to contemplate such things. There are various movements in Japan, and there are indications that there might be a plan to execute a second Manchurian Incident in the Dutch East Indies. In this critical domestic and foreign situation, we must be cautious; therefore, I made that statement."

Then, I visited HIRANUMA, the President of the Privy Council. I reported the subsequent situation to Prince KONOYE, and at the same time, I also reported the situation to the Premier. Thus, this problem was completely settled.

On the 17th, I was called by the Prince (SAIONJI) on private business, and again, I went to Okitsu. There, I told him (Prince SAIONJI) about the talk I had with Foreign Minister ARITA. At the same time, I told the Prince about the illness of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. I have always been worrying about what to do in the event that anything should happen to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in this moment of unrest; therefore, I told the Prince about the matter. The Prince (SAIONJI) also appeared very concerned about the matter. I believe that KIDO is suited as a successor to the office of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal; however, to immediately appoint KIDO will have too strong a reaction. Therefore, I suggested placing KIDO in the position of Imperial Household Minister at present, and in the event that

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anything should happen (to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal), switch KIDO from the position of Imperial Household Minister to the position of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. To my suggestion, Prince SAIONJI replied: "That is an excellent idea, and I believe that it is all right. However, I don't want you to tell anyone that I am very much in favor of the plan or that I am the instigator of the plan. Why don't you do it alone?"

After returning to Tokyo, I discussed the matter in general with KIDO and KONOYE. KIDO said: "I have heard that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is rather of the opinion to have Imperial Household Minister MATSUDAIRA succeed to his office; therefore, I don't think that he will have me."

According to what I have heard later, this was a great misunderstanding. When the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal previously visited Prince KONOYE at his residence, he very frankly said: "In the event that I die of illness or in the event that I am assassinated, what about having the Imperial Household Minister take my place as an emergency measure?" He (the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) harbored a secret desire that KIDO was suited for the job (post of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal), and he also had the opinion that his successor must be KIDO. However, he (the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) was rather skeptical about KIDO immediately succeeding to his office. Therefore, he (the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) told KONOYE that the most likely successor to his post was the Minister of the Imperial Household, as a temporary link between KIDO and the position of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. However, KONOYE mis-

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interpreted the statement of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and thought that he wanted Imperial Household Minister MATSUDAIRA as his successor rather than KIDO. KONOYE told this to KIDO, and that was the cause of the whole misunderstanding. Later, I talked about this matter with MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and I was enlightened about the whole situation.

On the 20th, I invited Lt. Gen. HARADA, who had just returned from Shanghai, to the Tokyo Club, and with more than ten members of the House of Peers, we had dinner together. He told us about the situation on the creation of the WANG Ching-wei government and the dissolution of the Restoration Government (China). However, since Lt. Gen. HARADA is the creator of the Restoration Government, he did not seem very pleased about the establishment of the WANG Ching-wei Government. He, in general, intimated that the situation was extremely difficult; however, he stated: "I believe that the matter will be settled in half a year at the most, and in three months at the least."

That night, Foreign Minister ARITA visited me. Therefore, I invited the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and while having a simple dinner, we talked about various matters. ARITA said: "The exchange of prisoners after the battle of Nomonhan is completed. Soviet Russia returned 111 prisoners to Japan, but there were only two Russian prisoners. In short, there were only two prisoners returned to Russia by Japan. This can't be mentioned even in the newspapers. In general, I believe that the boundary problem

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will be settled. I believe that it can be definitely settled. Soviet Russia has been approaching us, and has been trying to settle various problems. Therefore, if possible, I want to settle everything as soon as possible. As an amity treaty, I am planning to conclude a Non-Assistance Pact with Thailand."

On the 21st, Capt. ONO of the Naval General Staff visited me, and said: "In general, the war situation in Europe seems to be developing in favor of Germany."

Later, I talked the matter over with the Navy Minister. The Navy Minister was of the opinion that the losses and damages incurred by the Germans were extremely heavy, and he spoke as if the situation was favorable to England. However, I believe that the Navy Minister was referring to naval operations, and that Captain ONO was referring to the land operations.

Then, I met Foreign Vice-Minister TANI. He was also saying something similar to the others. TANI said: "The German Fleet has been reduced to almost half, and there is no comparison with the sea-power of England. In Germany, they are trying to concentrate everything around HITLER, and even now, they are supporting HITLER. What the future will be, I don't know. Soviet Russia has been approaching us lately, and it gives me the impression that Russia has strong ambitions in Europe. This is just imagination, but at the Brenner Conference, it could be that HITLER and STALIN agreed on the equal sharing of Rumania. Probably HITLER and MUSSOLINI promised each other the equal sharing of Yugoslavia. In regard to the Portuguese territory of Timor, we have been approached with a problem of interest to us. In regard to the oil

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problem of Mexico, our relations have become much closer.

In short, it appears that Soviet Russia wishes to safeguard the situation in East Asia by diplomacy with Japan for the time being, and then fulfill their ambitions in Europe. The Nomonhan incident, and the prisoner exchange problem, have already been agreed upon. Furthermore, it appears that the situation is progressing to the settlement of the boundary problem and the revision of the Fishery Treaty."

The same night (21st), through the recommendation of AYABE of the Seiyukai (political party), I had dinner with the War Vice-Minister at the Yonedaya (restaurant) in Tsukiji. We talked about various matters from 5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. I frankly told the Vice-Minister about the state of affairs of the Army since the London Treaty. The War Vice-Minister was in complete agreement with my opinion, and said: "Truly, it seems as if you have spoken my thoughts."

That night, at 8:00 o'clock, I left for Okitsu. On the 22nd, I visited the Prince (SAIONJI), and reported to him about various matters.

On the 26th, I returned to Tokyo, and telephoned the Premier. However, there didn't seem to be any change in the state of affairs. I also talked with the Foreign Minister, and he was also of the opinion that there was nothing new.

Then, I met Foreign Vice-Minister TANI. He said: "I believe that the statement made by the Foreign Minister in regard to the Dutch East Indies was very good. In regard to the statement, England made a favorable response, and in general, I believe that it was rather

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satisfactory with the United States. However, the right wing elements are saying such outrageous things as, the statement was probably made after consulting the British. In short, it is an attack against the pro-British elements. It might be called an attack against the pro-British elements. However, in reality, the attack is principally against the important officials. I believe that a befitting punishment is necessary for their irresponsible words and actions. It really is a problem when such irresponsible words and actions are rampant as they are in Japan today."

I spoke to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal over the telephone, but there were no serious changes in the current situation.

On the 27th, I again visited the Prince (SAIONJI), and reported on the subsequent progress of the situation. On the way back, I stopped at Atami, and visited YUKI, the Governor of the Bank of Japan. We talked about various matters, including the problem of profit control. Then, in order to recuperate, I stayed in Yugawara for two days, and stayed overnight at Oiso. I returned to Tokyo on the 1st of May.

At 2:00 p.m., along with MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, I visited IKEDA Seihin. I had not seen him for a long time; therefore, we talked about various matters. He (IKEDA) said: "I believe that the transition period between the consumption of the rice in stock and the production of the new rice crop, June and July, is the critical period. It is absolutely necessary for the government to import rice. However, the Army is against this plan, and the

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government is very much distressed about the matter. Also, someone has brought information to me that about 100 persons centered about ISHIHARA Kanji are planning an insurrection. The person that brought that information will probably go to KONOYE's place; therefore, probably Prince KONOYE knows about it also."

At 3:30 p.m., I visited the Imperial Palace, and met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. We talked about various matters. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "According to the report made by the Chief of the Audit Bureau to His Majesty, the situation is such that prior to the actual receipt of the income, payments are being made for substantial amounts of the budget since about two years ago. For that reason, there is evidence that it has resulted in the rising of prices. The income of the general public is the same as usual; therefore, if the prices of commodities go up, purchasing power will decrease and that will be the same as a decrease in income. However, in regard to military personnel, the situation is such that under the pretext of active service in the field, increase in allowance is possible, and they are also exempt from taxation. In general, military personnel are in a more comfortable position than the others. In regard to the Army and Navy personnel in certain localities, they refuse to pay the local tax because of the reason that they are exempted from the national tax. In cities such as Kure, Sasebo and Kokura, maintenance of the local government is impossible. On the other hand, the military are demanding a profit control on the producers. Many things they do are really unreasonable. The present situation is such that the military have gathered the

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so-called scholars who specialize in finance and economics in the Intendence and Military Affairs Bureau. The Intendence Bureau in particular, has gathered such notorious persons as NISHIYAMA, HASHIZUME and HIJIKATA; right wing professors who have been expelled from the Imperial University. They decided on the profit control plan, and without referring the matter to the Cabinet Meeting, they published it. The situation is outrageous. On the other hand, in the rural areas, the situation is such that the tenant farmers are returning their land to the owners and are going to the factories. The causes for this phenomenon are the shortage of fertilizer and the lack of labor. The situation is such that without a speedy conclusion of the Sino-Japanese Incident, a recovery will be extremely difficult to attain. In regard to the intendence in the Army which had been appealed by the Bureau of Audit, the Emperor summoned Prince KAN-IN, the Chief of General Staff Headquarters, later and made inquiries. The following day, the Chief Aide-de-Camp presented as the Army's reply: 'As a matter of fact, there was one such incident; however, that was the only one. There was no other.' However, there were numerous such occurrences. I don't know what the Bureau of Audit will do, but the Emperor did not press the matter further. On the previously mentioned matter, the government desired to supplement the deficiency by purchasing foreign rice and is endeavoring to steer through the crisis safely, but the Army fearing that money would be drained out of the country, does not approve. Their plan was to aid WANG Ching-wei, but there were no such funds. They desired to purchase opium in order to raise the

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funds. If money was used to purchase foreign rice, there would be no money to purchase opium; therefore, it would be aggravating to have them purchase rice instead of opium. They planned to let Mitsui handle the opium sales and realize a profit from the purchased opium and thus use the money to aid WANG. Mitsui was very reluctant about handling the opium, and had rejected the proposal. Because the opium problem is very difficult even as an international problem, I feel that the rejection was not unreasonable."

After I left the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's home, I went to the Peers Club and conversed with Prince KONOYE on various matters from about five o'clock. He said: "The problem of the control of profits is said to be not the voicing of the leaders of the Army, but according to AOKI, it was requested by Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai (National Policy Investigation Committee). However, there is something which is being planned with TAKEBE. I believe it is likely that it is the policy of the Army leaders concerning economics and finance. When this is completed, I would like to have you (HARADA) come and see me. I have been requested to form a Cabinet utilizing their plan. They are thinking of using me as their tool again. They are still considering just whom they should send to explain their plans and in whom I would have the most confidence. If this plan is adopted, the Army may utilize it as their plan to use it as an instrument to shake and overthrow the Cabinet. I presume they intend to use me as their tool for the Cabinet. I refuse." However, I asked him: "You probably never appeared, annoyed when they came to consult you, did you?" KONOYE

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answered: "I did not particularly appear annoyed, but I have no intentions of complying."

Furthermore, he continued: "The other day, ARIMA came and said: 'KIDO is very much in favour of organizing a new political party. Therefore, shall we not get together once?' So, the three of us dined together. ARIMA said: 'KIDO was somewhat in favour of splitting up the existing political parties and organizing something new.' However, when I (KONOYE) asked KIDO about this, he replied: 'The present reorganization of the existing parties is a movement for a new party. However, I cannot agree to such movements for organizing a new party. There would be some significance to a new party which is entirely of a different nature elected through a new election law. However, it would be useless if such is not the case.' Thus, he disagreed with ARIMA's plan and he was not in favor as ARIMA had maintained. I then dropped the subject."

Concerning the manner in which he would respond to an Imperial inquiry in case of a political change, and on the occasion of advice on the succeeding Cabinet, KONOYE said: "It would be useless for anyone to continue in the present manner. Because we are not deities, the Emperor will be the target of criticism, and that would be unpleasant. As Prince SAIONJI has said before, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal should have no authority and should be relegated the task of giving counsel. As had been practiced before, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal will hold, concurrently, the post of Grand Chamberlain. That is, he would be appointed as a veritable attendant. All former Premiers will be made Privy

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Councillors when an Imperial inquiry is made of the Privy Council. Entrusted with this, the President of the Privy Council will summon the former Premiers and will consult them concerning the question of a succeeding Cabinet. They will respond to the Imperial inquiry with their choice (for Premier). Delegating the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal with the great authority of petitioning the Emperor on the question of the succeeding Cabinet, as has been practiced heretofore, can be considered as exceedingly dangerous. Because the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is apt to be unfairly criticized, I believe it would be better to clarify this from the standpoint of organization. In or about 1899 or 1900, during the reign of Emperor MEIJI, Prince ITO stated: "The Privy Council will reply to the Imperial inquiries concerning succeeding Cabinets after no Genros remain. Fifty some odd members will compose the Privy Council...." He (ITO) has named a very large number for the membership, but I intend to ask Prince SAIONJI about this once. Shall we again converse leisurely on this subject?" We parted for that day, but later KONOYE said: "Since then, AKIYAMA Teisuke had said nothing about the Chungking project. I wonder what happened?"

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Chapter 362(A)
(11 May 1940)

Sayre and Arita Confer

Translated by: Miss Miwako Yanamoto

I departed on the evening of May 2nd. I made a sudden visit on former Finance Minister AOKI at Atami. After dinner, I stated: "This is something I heard from KONOYE. At the request of the National Policy Investigation Association (Kokusaku Kenkyu-kai), you are supposed to be conceiving a concrete plan regarding the future policy of finance and economy. Now, KONOYE, says: 'AOKI states that he has been asked by the National Policy Investigation Association. However, in reality, hasn't he been asked by the Military Affairs Bureau of the Army? AOKI said he would show me the plan when it's completed. However, when this plan is made, isn't the Army going to try to shake the Cabinet with this plan and use it as a tool for overthrowing the Cabinet? I also think that there is a scheme afoot to choose someone in whom I have confidence and have him bring the plan to me and explain it. After I have assented, they plan to use me as a tool. I hear, that at the moment, they are considering the selection of this person who would be a good choice to explain the matter to me! I (HARADA) wanted to ask you personally if this were correct or not, and that is why I have come to see you."

Former Finance Minister AOKI stated: "It is a fact that I was asked by the National Policy Investigation Association but it does not mean that I was especially requested by the Army. At present, in the Military Affairs Bureau of the Army, there is a colonel named IWAKURO who worked under me when I was on the Planning Board and in the Manchurian Affairs Bureau. He is, at present, Military Affairs Section Chief of the

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Military Affairs Bureau. I often talk to IWAKURO about various matters, but it doesn't mean that I was especially requested by the Military Affairs Bureau. TAKI, OKURA and YUZAWA are the central figures of the National Policy Investigation Association. They said: 'Please set up a plan on finance and economy.' Finance and economy, as long as it's the finance and economy of the nation, cannot exclude national defense or foreign policy. Therefore, I am setting up a finance and economy (policy) which include national defense and foreign policy. For instance, how can we get materials without relying on America? How can we become less dependent on England and the United States? Will Japan be able to surpass them in the future? I have been giving a great deal of thought to such problems. War with Soviet Russia is probably inevitable at some future date. However, for the next ten years, we should concentrate on reviving our national strength. We should try to get along with England and the United States and also avoid too much friction with Germany. We should carry on sufficient construction work in China, and at the same time, plan to revive the national strength of Japan. In reality, TAKI, OKURA, YUZAWA, etc., are handling matters as the central figures of the National Policy Investigation Association. TAKI has been stretching his former connections with Prince KONOYE, and talks as if this were the desire of Prince KONOYE. I wonder if it is so."

I cautioned AOKI: "At present, TAKI and KONOYE are entirely separated. No matter how TAKI utilizes KONOYE, there is absolutely no liaison. Unless you are very careful on such a point, you will make a big mistake by handling personnel matters under a mistaken idea. I ask that you be careful not to do any real harm." AOKI was astonished and said: "I

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certainly heard a good thing. That matter had been directed as if his relationship were still the same as before, and actually, I had been worried about it. It's certainly a very good thing that I saw you."

I returned to Oiso and the 10 o'clock train. A meeting with ARITA had been previously arranged for the evening of the next day, the 3rd. However, ARITA phoned to say: "I am going to have a meeting with SAYRE, the United States High Commissioner to the Philippines, who has arrived from the Philippines. The official residence is too conspicuous. Especially since the press has been very annoying recently, I thought we might meet at your place. Please let me borrow your place." He said they would come over around 5:00 p.m., and I waited for them. I met SAYRE and then withdrew. The two were in discussion for about two hours. No one found out about this meeting. SAYRE wanted Japan to conclude a peace treaty with CHIANG Kai-shek, by some means. The longer the Japan-China Incident was drawn out, the more complicated the problem between Japan and the United States would become. If the Japan-China Incident could be settled soon, the problem between Japan and the United States would turn for the better. In order to effect this turn for the better between Japan and the United States, he wanted the Japan-China Incident to end as soon as possible. CHIANG Kai-shek desired the intervention of the President (of the U. S.). The President intended to intervene if Japan would only consent. However, Japan felt that if the President came into the picture and the problem were settled, it would be unfavorable as they would feel that they would be pushed around by America in future matters. However, if SAYRE were to operate from behind the scenes, and arrange a meeting between representatives of CHIANG Kai-shek, and representatives

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of Japan at Hongkong and leave the matter to direct negotiations, the domestic situation within Japan would calm down. The Army does not favor this matter of depending on the intervention of a third nation. And yet, the Army is thoroughly at a loss regarding the Incident. They have a poignant desire to end the war somehow as soon as possible, but they are such sticklers for formality that the actual situation is that they can't quit.

The Foreign Minister, as a result of much pondering, told SAYRE: "If you can endeavor to that extent, (arrange a meeting in Hongkong) I would like to do something about it, too."

SAYRE seemed to have that intention also. Whether it was because Foreign Minister ARITA said: "This is a very difficult problem," or what, several days later SAYRE sent a telegram saying: "I think it is beyond hope." This problem ended without seeing success. I heard about this matter afterwards from the Foreign Minister.

That same day, I went to KIDO's place after dinner. We discussed the procedure for petitioning the Emperor about the succeeding Cabinet.

Early on the morning of the 4th, I visited the Vice-Minister of War at his official residence. I said: "The public is quite uneasy about the source of the Army's announcement the other day of the problem of profit control without bringing it up at a Cabinet meeting. Isn't it extremely improper for the Intendence Bureau to be using Imperial University instructors, who are on the blacklist, for starting various problems as non-official staff members and advisors and permitting them to set up plans regarding economy and finance?" I gave their names to the Vice-Minister. The Vice-Minister stated: "The fact is, I knew nothing about it until now. I intend to dispose of the matter in some way. The matter of economy which was not brought up at a Cabinet meeting was a big blunder." I said: "The Army

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is very much opposed to the purchase of rice -- that is, foreign rice." He explained: "It's not that there isn't any rice in the homeland. It's just that they won't put it out. Why not first try to make them put it out by using strong authority, and to buy when there's no alternative? They (Army) are opposed to the purchase of foreign rice right off the bat without first making this effort, and they say that it's a bad thing to do when money is so scarce. Consequently, they have no thought of laying aside money to buy opium in China. Also, the government has no intention of buying Chinese opium and doing this and that. If they do, they will let the Chinese do it among themselves, and the government will not put out any money."

On the way home, I went to the Premier's private residence around 8:30 p.m. We talked about various matters. The Premier stated: "If the right wing, like the SUETSUGU faction, try anything, we must take strong action or it will be useless. Hesitation is out. There isn't any particularly big problem right now."

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Chapter 362 (B)

Dickering for Lord Privy Seal

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

I met MATSUDAIRA that afternoon. MATSUDAIRA stated: "This is very confidential. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's health is not too good. He has said that he can't stand it much longer. He seems to have talked to the Minister of the Imperial Household about it. We intend to have him stay on for a little while longer by better care. However, it would put us in an awkward position if you were to tell this now to KONOYE and KIDO."

That night, when I got together with KONOYE, he said the following regarding the problem of the next party: "I do not think it can be done."

On the 5th, I met the Foreign Minister again. The Minister said: "I have told only the War Minister and the Premier regarding SAYRE's suggestion. The War Minister said: 'Since they offered to do something, it would be bad if we declined. Please talk to him.' Therefore, I told the Premier about it. No one other than myself, the Premier, and the War Minister know about this problem. We are handling it very confidentially. This is also a domestic problem and it is quite troublesome. It would be very distressing if it were to leak out. I think it is a very difficult problem as to whether it can be done or not." However, the matter ended as I have already stated previously.

On the train, I unexpectedly ran into someone close to President HACHIDA (of the Minsei-to). He stated: "I heard this the other day from MAEDA and UCHIDA. KONOYE has made up his mind to head the new party when it is

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organized. Now, if you would only meet Prince KONOYE directly, this problem would progress rapidly. Please see him about this." I replied: "If Prince KONOYE really had the intention of becoming the president of the new party, he would probably tell me about it directly by some means. You can take it that he has no such intention as he hasn't said anything to me about it directly before now. UCHIDA and MAEDA are probably saying something adequate in between." He stated: "President MACHIDA won't move. I am very worried, but what do you think about it?" I replied: "I wonder if what MACHIDA thinks isn't the actual fact."

When I got to Okitsu, I phoned KONOYE and said: "I heard such a story from someone close to MACHIDA. I gave such an answer, but what about it?" KONOYE replied: "That's just the way things stand. Please tell them so definitely again." Thinking that I would talk to MACHIDA or someone close to MACHIDA on the train on the way back the next day, I made preliminary arrangements.

On the morning of the 6th, I went to Prince SAIONJI's place. I told him about the health of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. I stated that the circumstances surrounding the selection of succeeding Cabinets would be made systematic (that is, the system of selection would be legalized). Prince SAIONJI said: "I am absolutely opposed to systematizing the procedure. Further, I wonder if KIDO wouldn't be a good choice for Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal?" There wasn't much else of importance to discuss.

I departed on the night of the 6th. I stayed over one night in Osaka. As soon as I returned to Tokyo on the 7th, I met MATSUDAIRA. He said: "This time, the

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Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal definitely stated to me:

'I have no confidence in my health. I probably won't be able to serve the Emperor for very long. I want to make my accompaniment on the Emperor's trip in June my last, and then resign.' Since the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal says he spoke to the Minister of the Imperial Household, he will probably speak to you later on."

NATSUDAIRA's request was: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal stated: 'I think that one out of the following three, WAKATSUKI, UGAKI or KIDO, would be good as my successor.' Please don't tell anyone about it until the Minister of the Imperial Household broaches the subject. Please do not seek out the Minister of the Imperial Household to discuss the matter."

On the morning of the 8th, there was a summons from Prince CHICHIBU saying: "Come at 8:30." I went to see Prince CHICHIBU and talked for about an hour and a half about recent developments and conditions at the time of the political change.

That night, Prince and Princess TAKAMATSU came to Marquis HOSOKAWA's place, and we had dinner together. KIDO, KONOYE, my wife and I, and the HOSOKAWA family all got together, and we talked until almost 11:00 p.m.

On the 9th, I met KIDO. He stated: "Even if there were an emergency in the matter regarding the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, I think I would be utterly unsuitable. At present, there is HIRANUMA who is my senior, and there is KONOYE who has a good reputation. I do not think it would be good for me to pass over them and accept this position. KONOYE should be made Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and HIRANUMA should succeed

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him as President of the Privy Council. There must be someone for Minister of the Imperial Household. I think that this is the most sound procedure under the present circumstances."

At noon on the 9th, I met YAMAMOTO, the Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet, who was in Tokyo. We talked leisurely as we lunched. The Navy has its usual confidence.

Around 6:00 p.m., I met Foreign Minister ARITA at his official residence. He stated: "The Japanese Government complied with SAYRE's suggestion, but this time, they were the ones who declined. They seemed to have considered it very complicated. It has become well known to us that the cause of their rejection was that we said that we do not desire the President's intervention. I also stressed many times to SAYRE that this problem was very difficult, and that probably entered into the consideration, too."

Late on the night of the 9th, I had a phone call from MATSUOKA. He said: "The chief court physician examined the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. There is nothing in particular that's wrong with him. He will probably recover depending on the care he takes. He is very fatigued. He can recover from this fatigue if he takes care of himself. Only, since he is that kind of a person, one can't tell whether he can take it easy or not. At any rate, we now have a little time to think this matter over leisurely. Let's think it over some more."

On the night of the 10th, I met TANI. TANI said that at 3:00 a.m. that very day, Germany had invaded Holland without warning. They had over a hundred planes

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flying over The Hague and overpowering the city. At the same time, if each plane carried thirty soldiers and they had parachuted from about a hundred planes, it would mean that around 3,000 soldiers had invaded The Hague from the skies. Indications are that there is a battle waging at present between the ground and air forces. At the same time, the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies made an announcement stating that they would refuse aid from any country. It was similar to the sort of statement made in ARITA's announcement. TANI thought that they would be able to avoid entanglement with the United States and England."

TANI further stated: "The British Cabinet has been in confusion about mass resignation and such. Also, the British Premier made a speech saying that Germany had a superior air force. It seems to me that just when they had acknowledged the superiority of the enemy - while Germany's air force was in a superior state - HITLER started out suddenly with the feeling that he would conquer England, Belgium, and Holland with one stroke of his air force."

Foreign Minister ARITA had planned to leave for his birthplace, Sado (Island), on the 11th. However, after hearing the report of the German invasion of Holland, he changed his plans. In view of the change in the international situation, he gave up his idea of returning to his native home. Therefore, on the morning of the 11th, he said: "Why not come over early this morning before I leave for the office?" I went to Foreign Minister ARITA's private residence in Mejiro, and we discussed many matters from around 8:00 a.m. until well past 9:00 a.m.

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There wasn't any thing in particular, but he was worried that this problem might complicate domestic problems rather than foreign problems. The Foreign Minister stated: "I shall set up liaison with the Home Minister. There are all sorts of movements such as to take the Dutch East Indies. I shall make them take a prudent attitude regarding these matters and I would like to keep the nation from getting too much in a turmoil." The Foreign Minister was giving the matter a great deal of thought.

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Chapter 363
(22 May 1940)

Arita Elucidates

Translated by Lt. Larry Nishihara

On the afternoon of the 11th, I spoke with KONOYE on various matters. KONOYE said concerning the New Party Movement: "If I am to become the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, then it would be permissible to disavow all connections with the New Party Movement. However, although I do not desire it, there may be a time when I must again come to the fore. If there should be such a case, I differ from KIDO and believe that although the quality of the existing parties is bad now, their strength politically, is much greater than that of the minorities. Furthermore, if I should again receive the Imperial command, I must include both the existing parties and the minorities and make them my strength, or government will be impossible. Many members of the minorities gather at KIDO's place and say that the existing parties are incompetent and that they are useless. KIDO believes that they are worse than they are, but I do not think so."

I spoke with the Premier, but he said that there was nothing very important.

I met ARITA on May 12th, and he said: "I had supper with the Premier and we talked of many things. I told the Premier: 'Up until now, the Planning Board and such have been doing as they pleased in setting up plans for material mobilization according to the wishes of the Army in a makeshift fashion. They were saying that there were things of which there were none. Again, the fact that they were permitting the Army to make them do such things is a very

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groundless story in actual government. Since this is a very unpleasant state of affairs, I believe that this point should be made clear and if we do not base this on actual facts such as 'impossible things cannot be done', and that 'possible things will be done', the government will not function. If this cannot be done, then we must be prepared to suffer an honorable defeat. To this, the Premier replied: "I shall gradually approach the members of the Cabinet, especially the War and Navy Ministers, and talk this matter over at length." This matter proceeded smoothly and we parted with the understanding that he would meet the War and Navy Ministers." ARITA was full of praises for Admiral YONAI as a Premier.

YAMAMOTO, the Commander in Chief of the Combined Fleet came over and we had lunch together on the 13th. YAMAMOTO strongly said: "If the United States should do such a foolish thing as to advance her fleet to the Philippines, she will commit a great blunder. If the United States is serious about this, I believe that they will return to their bases once."

On the night of the 13th, I went to ARITA's place and we discussed various matters. ARITA said: "There is considerable discussion on concluding a non-aggression pact with Russia and there are two or three grounds for this. One is that the number of troops in North and Central China have become insufficient and in order to supplement this, the border question with Russia must be satisfactorily settled through diplomatic means and the actual strength (troops) transferred to South and Central China. In other words, the first reason is to

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settle the China problem speedily.

"Another is, that in order to proceed to the conclusion of a military alliance with Germany and Italy, Japan must first of all, conclude a non-aggression pact with Russia and then approach Germany on this matter. In either case, I would like to consider this from the standpoint that relations with England and the United States should not become more aggravated. Therefore, if the conclusion of a non-aggression pact should further aggravate relations with England and the United States, then I believe that it would be better not to do such a thing.

"Furthermore, a certain Maj. Gen. DOBASHI, the Chief of the 2nd Section of the General Staff Headquarters, has unofficially told British Ambassador CRAIGIE: 'Please exert your efforts so that negotiations may be opened between CHIANG Kai-shek and Japan.' I was informed of the fact by CRAIGIE and was very surprised. It is quite a problem to have the Army, especially for such a responsible person from the General Staff Headquarters, to commit such an unseemly act without regard to diplomatic channels."

I left on the night of the 13th and met the Prince at Okitsu on the morning of the 14th. I reported all the recent incidents. The Prince said: "Listening to your reports, the most important matter is that of the successor to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. On this matter, please say that Prince SAIONJI had nothing to say."

After I returned to Tokyo, I again met the Foreign Minister on the morning of the 15th, but there was nothing out of the ordinary.

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From around 8:00 p.m. of the 16th, I visited the Navy Minister at his private residence. We had not met for some time and so we discussed many matters. The Navy Minister said that he wished for the continuance of the present Cabinet and also that there was some scandal within the Finance and Communications Ministries. However, this is not such an important thing at the present time, and he said that he did not want the Finance Minister moved to any other position.

I met Premier YONAI on the morning of the 17th and I requested of him: "This is not a very urgent problem, but the health of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is such that he may not be in any condition to be in his present position. If such is the case, then the matter of a successor must be taken care of very carefully. Since the Imperial Household Minister and you are going to decide on the matter of the successor, and if the Imperial Household Minister should directly report matters to the Emperor, it will be irreparable. I would like to have you watch this very closely."

Later, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and he talked of the non-aggression pact with Russia. He also mentioned that, according to the news from the Office of the Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty, Germany is very troubled because Russia has refused to sell oil to Germany. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal also said: "The present Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board is from the same home town and I know him well. However, he is quite an admirer of SUETSUGU and because of this, I am concerned about the maintenance of public order." There was no other matter of importance.

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I returned and recommended to the Foreign Minister that he should go and see the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal soon. I left for Oiso that night (17th) and participated in the ceremonies commemorating the 250th year since the opening of the Besshi Mines on the morning of the 18th. I spent the 18th and the 19th in Kyoto and Osaka, and went to Shizuoka on the night train of the 19th. I met the Prince on the morning of the 20th and made my report. The Prince asked: "How is the matter of the China problem proceeding?" He seemed rather worried.

I returned to Tokyo on the evening of the 20th. On the evening of the 21st, I met KOBAYASHI, the Governor-General of Formosa, who had come to Tokyo and we talked leisurely. KOBAYASHI said: "Since my return, I have met the Minister of Overseas Affairs, as well as the Premier and the Foreign Minister. It seemed as if there was some liaison between them, for all three of them said: 'Stay on and do not resign now for it will be very troublesome.' Since the situation is such and I cannot be too unreasonable, I decided not to resign. I shall exert my efforts towards the solution of the rice problem and this matter should be settled within four or five months. I plan to resign at that time." Since KOBAYASHI said such things to me, I conjectured that perhaps he was throwing in his lot with the present Cabinet. I also told KOBAYASHI: "I also believe that it would be better for you to remain for the present."

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Chapter 364
(4 June 1940)

Kido, Lord Privy Seal

Translated by Lt. Larry Mishihara

I met KONOYE on the 22nd and he said: "I met MATSUGOSHI at the Privy Council and he said that the Army is going to conclude a non-aggression pact with Russia. How about this?" I replied: "First of all, such a thing is impossible. Before concluding such a pact, there should be some consultation with the Privy Council. On top of this, there is a diplomatic organ in Russia and there is also a Foreign Ministry in Japan. As long as there are such organs, I don't think that such a thing will be possible." I also told KONOYE: "AKIYAMA Teisuke came recently and said: 'If we dispatch a Chinese messenger to CHIANG Kai-shek and bring TAI Chuan-hsien and CHANG Chun about to our side, then I believe that we can negotiate with CHIANG with the combination of these two. This is being done. However, the Foreign Ministry has not been advised of this, but the War Minister has been informed.'"

I met Vice-Minister TANI that evening and he said: "It seems as if Ambassador ABE desires to return after concluding a simple treaty and settling this situation. The officials of the Treaty Bureau are gradually taking this matter under deliberation. Even in the matter of Hainan Island, they want to make a great deal of it internally, and desire to make it favorable for us. However, the matter of direct negotiations (with the Chungking Government), is coming up from two sides and is obstructing the progress of the officials of the

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Treaty Bureau. Since Japan has expressed her intentions to the world, she must firmly establish the authority of the WANG Government, rather than to open negotiations with the Chungking Government. Just what will the attitude of the great powers be? Well, the United States will probably oppose it, but England will take its attitude from the results of the new regime. If the new regime should be favorable, I believe that even the opposition of the United States would fade.

"Within the nation itself, good government would be carried out (the Chinese would receive blessings) and on the outside, free trade would be allowed the other powers. There are the problems of the freedom of the Yangtze and the problems of the military forces there, but matters should be taken care of by respecting the rights and interests of the various nations and by impartially respecting freedom of trade. If both internal and external administration should actually proceed smoothly, then I believe that the other nations will eventually recognize the new government.

"Glancing over at the situation in Europe: France and England, that is, the Allied Arms, were expecting an attack in the Meuse area and were waiting for it. However, the German forces unexpectedly struck the Maginot Line from Sedan and mechanized units had occupied St. Quentin. The German forces are advancing along the right bank of the Somme River with the ultimate objective of attacking Calais. They have coordinated with the German forces from Holland and I feel that the Allied forces have been caught like rats in a trap. The French Ninth Army of almost 110,000 men became prisoners. The

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British Navy is unloading ordnance at Boulogne and has command of the seas from Calais to Dover. However, the German Air Forces are in the skies and they are denying the withdrawal of the Allied forces. Although it must be the plan of the German Army to land in England, it cannot yet be known as to what degree it can be realized.

"Since the situation is such, Holland as a nation, is gone and the situation is that the Dutch East Indies are managing the government of the Netherlands and that the Dutch East Indies are virtually independent, both economically and politically. Therefore, Japan's declaration of the maintenance of the status quo becomes more and more of an actual problem. Belgium will present a problem and India, Canada and Australia will come to the rescue of England and these will actually constitute anti-German nations. Therefore, in regard to anything concerning Australia and the South Seas Islands, we must proclaim the maintenance of the status quo."

On the morning of the 23rd, I went to the home of ARITA and listened to his views. He said: "Several days ago, I had dinner together with the War and Navy Ministers together with the Premier and had a discussion concerning another attempt at the plans for material mobilization. I believe that we should proceed on the Russian problem in such a manner so as not to aggravate our relations with England and the United States. However, this cannot be relied upon. There seems to be a considerable number of men within the military forces who are being stirred by the people's movement. There are two or three university professors who had been acting as the brains behind the Army's reestablishment of the

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nation's economy along the lines of the control of profits or that of the wartime control system. They were black-listed in the universities as Marxists, and resigned from their positions. We must proceed cautiously on this matter also."

On the 24th, MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, came and said: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is resting due to illness. The other day, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal expressed his desire to resign because of his health to the Imperial Household Minister, but the Imperial Household Minister said that he wished him to remain a little longer. However, there is no telling when this problem will take a sudden turn, so we must give this deep consideration."

On the 27th, I went to Okitsu and visited the Prince. I told the Prince: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is suffering from emphysema of the lung and is troubled because there is an opening in his lung and air is escaping. It is said that he is presently confined to bed, but two or three days ago, he told the Imperial Household Minister that his health was poor and that he desired to resign and we must think of a successor." I presented various possible candidates and the Prince said: "Since this matter is of the utmost importance, say that SAIONJI did not say anything and do not even mention what other people said." Later, I again made the usual reports and returned to Tokyo on the 28th.

On the night of my return, there was a meeting at the home of Marquis HOSOKAWA in Koishikawa. Their Highnesses, Princes CHICHIBU and TAKAMATSU, were invited and KONOYE, KIDO, MATSUDAIRA, HOSOKAWA and I were present.

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As we ate, we discussed the matter of the successor to the office of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the method of giving the Imperial command to form a succeeding cabinet. Their Highnesses did not have any particular person in mind nor did they have any specific ideas. However, Prince CHICHIBU said: "There really isn't anyone of the age suitable to become the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal or the Premier."

At noon of the 28th, I invited the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs over and had him tell us of the report of section chief ISHIZAWA concerning the Dutch East Indies.

On the 29th, MATSUDAIRA came and said: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is quite ill and he himself has asked that a successor be decided upon immediately and that he be allowed to resign. He asked that his attendance upon the Emperor on his trip to the Kansai region (June 7-13, 14) be his last duty and wants to resign. However, although his health is bad, it is not a very good thing to leave any posts vacant at this crucial time. Since the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal expressed a desire to have a successor named as soon as possible, I relayed this fact to the Imperial Household Minister. I plied between the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Imperial Household Minister, and as a result of repeated discussions on the matter of the time of resignation and of the successor, the Imperial Household Minister reported to the Throne. The Emperor is said to have replied: 'The situation is unavoidable and so HARADA must immediately be dispatched to see the Genro at Okitsu. He must convey my feelings on this matter and learn the opinion of the Genro on it.' Although this is

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a matter on which the Imperial Household Minister should act personally, it would be too conspicuous." Therefore, it was decided that I would go to Okitsu and learn the opinion of the Prince.

The Emperor is said to have instructed the Imperial Household Minister: "WAKATSUKI is a candidate for the position. However, because of the London Treaty, and the fact that he was the President of the Inseito for a long time, may be obstacles because the feeling against him will not abate. KONOYE is also a likely candidate, but he has too many men around him. Besides this, there is a necessity for him to actually lead political parties in the future and I believe that we should refrain from bringing him up at this time. HIRANUMA appears to keep confidences well, but the Genro will, in all probability, object to this. I believe that KIDO would be suitable, but he is young and it would be very regrettable if it should cost him his political future."

The above was the opinion of the Emperor. I was summoned by the Imperial Household Minister at 10:00 p.m. of the 30th, and he said: "I wonder which one Prince SAIONJI would select, or perhaps there are some other persons. Please go to Okitsu immediately tomorrow morning." I had some opinions of my own and there was a necessity to gain the opinions of others. Therefore, I asked for the opinions of KONOYE, MATSUDAIRA, Admiral OKADA and the like, and the point on which they all agreed was that KIDO would be the safest. KIDO was well acquainted with matters within the Imperial Household and also with recent political conditions. I met the Premier and asked his opinion on the matter and he replied:

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"There is no objection to KIDO."

I went to Okitsu from Shizuoka on the Tsubame on the 31st and immediately met the Prince. When I relayed the message of the Emperor to the Prince, he said: "Due to the fact that I have just recovered from an illness and am quite well on in years, there have been many recent issues on which I am not well informed. Although this is inexcusable, I cannot make a reply. Please say this and apologize for me. This is not a reply, but if they are to seek a man, how about IKKI or OKADA?" I (HARADA) then said: "You previously said that this was such an important matter that I should not repeat your opinions to anyone. If it is so important, how about expressing your thoughts on this subject to the Emperor?" The Prince, however, remained adamant.

Later, at around 3:00 p.m., I called the Imperial Household Minister and conveyed this fact. The Imperial Household Minister replied: "You are quite correct. Accordingly, I shall visit the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and consult with him personally. After that I shall learn the views of the Emperor and I shall call you again. Wait for the call."

At a little past 7:30 p.m., there was a call from the Imperial Household Minister. He said: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said that he recommends KIDO to succeed him. I am of the same opinion. When I reported this fact to the Emperor, he gave his approval and said that he had confidence in KIDO. However, the Emperor added that there might be some opposition and to ask the opinion of SAIONJI. Therefore, ask the Prince of this matter."

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I went to the Prince's place after 8:00 p.m., and conveyed the message of the Imperial Household Minister. The Prince said: "The original method of going about this matter seemed very irresponsible, so although it is a very painful matter, I troubled you. The fact is that there is nothing more excellent than to have a predecessor recommend a successor, then have that person endorsed by a Minister who should be in favor of him (in other words, the Imperial Household Minister) and then gain the approval of the Emperor. I am very satisfied and there is absolutely no objection on my part." Therefore, I immediately called the Imperial Household Minister and asked him to convey this message to the Emperor. The Imperial Household Minister was quite happy and said: "I intend to speak to the Premier tomorrow morning (June 6th), and also to KONOYE who is the President of the Privy Council. After this, I intend to have the investiture. Please stay at Okitsu until the ceremonies are over."

Therefore, I waited in Okitsu. The following day, the Imperial Household Minister conferred with KONOYE over the phone and he was of the same opinion. The Premier also agreed. Accordingly, KIDO was summoned directly by the Imperial Household Minister and KIDO replied that he would give an answer after consulting with KONOYE. As a result of this conference, KIDO accepted and the investiture was safely concluded. According to the comments of the press the following day, KIDO is considered close to the circles advocating political reform and he is also looked upon as having a good understanding of the politics of the future. From these

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standpoints, he was given a great ovation from the press and the tenor of the press was comparatively favorable.

In the evening, I returned to Oiso and had dinner at the home of IKEDA. We discussed various problems that night. I left for Tokyo early in the morning of the following day and immediately went to KIDO's place to congratulate him. I had supper at MATSUDAIRA's place and returned home.

At 8:00 a.m. on the 3rd, I visited the Premier and made a report to him. I also met the Chief Cabinet Secretary there. I had a dinner engagement at KONOYE's place in Ogikubo at 12:00 noon, so I went there and spoke with him until about 2:00 p.m. According to KONOYE, the matter of the New Party Movement is going to unfold rapidly and since KIDO has become the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, he feels that the matter has progressed somewhat.

KONOYE said: "The circumstances concerning my assuming the leadership of the new party is comparable to that of the pressure to which the Allied forces were subjected. As for myself, I do not desire to lead the party if my conditions are not included. However, I do not know whether to remain as the President of the Privy Council or to become the leader of the new party, and I am just looking the situation over. It seems, however, that the general public is not very agreeable to my remaining as the President of the Privy Council and looking at the situation, I believe that it is a small matter for me to resign as the President of the Privy Council, but it seems as if the public does not think the same. At any rate, I would like to look over the situation

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during the next three or four days."

Furthermore, according to KONOYE, SAKURAUCHI and NAGAI are to visit MACHIDA tonight (3rd) and recommend that the party be dissolved. They have prepared declarations, both affirmative and negative, and are to make them public. If the Minseito is to dissolve, then all the rest are to dissolve. This is not the claim of KUHARA, but if KUHARA should resign, he wants to go to Russia. KUHARA is said to have told NAGAI to go to Germany and for MACHIDA to go to London. It would be very troublesome to have such former party leaders remain when a new party should be formed. It was KUHARA's plan that it would be troublesome to have anyone who would act to destroy this new unity in the case that the new party was set up. Therefore, they should be out of the country. This does not necessarily mean that NAKAJIMA and MACHIDA were included because of this.

Although KONOYE's feelings seemed to have changed slightly from before, I did not recognize any positive enthusiasm to assume the leadership. However, it appears that he has assumed this attitude half out of desperation. In other words, the situation is that he must accept unavoidably. Furthermore, KONOYE said: "Is SAKURAUCHI going to resign by saying such things? NAKANO of the Nippon Soda Co. Ltd. has been apprehended. Someone has come to my place and said that Governor YUKI of the Bank of Japan and also Chief Cabinet Secretary ISHIWATA are also involved in this scandal. I wonder if there is any truth in this."

It was said that the Navy first exposed this fact so I figured that the Navy Minister should know about

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this. Therefore, I left KONOYE's place at around 2:00 p.m. and called the Navy Minister. I arranged to meet the Navy Minister at his official residence at 3:30 p.m.

I returned home and since I had not met the Imperial Household Minister as yet, I went to visit him. When I met him, I made a report to him of my visit to Okitsu. I also visited the Chief of the Imperial Forestry Bureau, MITSUKA, for a short while in his room. I also called the Chief of the Police Bureau over the phone and inquired into the situation, but he did not know anything in connection with the NAKANO case. It seems as if the administration is assuming an attitude of just watching the movements of the New Party Movement out of the force of circumstances.

I met the Navy Minister at 3:30 p.m. and inquired into the situation. However, he was unaware of the facts and said that he would look into the matter.

Later, I went to the official residence of the Premier and met the Premier and the Chief Cabinet Secretary. We exchanged information on KONOYE and also about the New Party Movement. I returned in the evening.

After supper, I called KIDO and he said: "When Finance Minister SAKURAUCHI came to my place yesterday, he said that there did not seem to be any hurry over the matter. Matters must be taken carefully and we must consider KONOYE. It would be very unpleasant if it resulted in the story that KONOYE meant to overthrow the Cabinet by forming the new party. In either case, matters must be considered carefully. This is what SAKURAUCHI said and when I told him that I was of the same opinion, he left with a look on his face as if to say that that was

Kido, Lord Privy Seal

what he wanted. In either case, we must be careful."

Later, I called KONOYE and told him of my conversation with KIDO. I also told him: "Speak directly to KIDO about it." KONOYE then said: "This matter of being cautious was in the contents of the warning that I had given SAKURAUCHI when I met him recently. It is as if I had said them myself."

I called OTA Masataka on the phone and asked about the problem of the New Party Movement. He said: "If matters are taken too cautiously, then the Minseito's NAKAHARA might be cornered and ruined." He spoke as if the atmosphere had changed considerably. OTA concluded: "The problem of quality is more difficult than that of quantity." Those who bring this matter to KONOYE, that is, those who advocate that this be done quickly, seem to think that it can be done by tomorrow. However, those who advocate that caution be exercised, believe that it cannot be done for quite awhile. In either case, I believe that this decision itself requires caution.

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Chapter 365
(10 June 1940)

Kuhara Acts Up

Translator: Lt. Larry Nishihara

Later, I said to KONOYE: "I am leaving for Okitsu on the night of the 5th, so let us meet before then." KONOYE then asked me over for breakfast so I went. However, Prince TOKUGAWA had suddenly passed away the night before and KONOYE had made the trip to Sendagaya and could not sleep upon his return. Therefore, I waited for another hour, but it did not seem as if he would awaken, so I returned. Later, when I spoke with him over the telephone, he said: "There is a great deal being said, but I believe that we should proceed with a cautious attitude. The reason that the Army, etc., was mentioned in the declaration, was because KUHARA was in back of the Army and I wanted to cover this up. I cannot possibly get together with that group."

Later, I met the Premier and the Foreign Minister, but there was nothing of importance. However, it seemed as if the administration was quite concerned over the progress of the negotiations over the China problem because the Army itself was not settled.

I went to Okitsu on the night of the 5th and met the Prince the following morning. From 10:30 a.m., I made my report on the various problems and also mentioned my visit to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. I returned to Oiso, stayed overnight and returned to Tokyo on the morning of the 7th.

Recently, KUHARA had visited the Premier and had vigorously expressed his views. However, the Premier would not accept them. Therefore, KUHARA had resigned as a councillor and had presented his statement that night. He claims that this is not a move to overthrow the government, but that point is not very clear.

Kuhara Acts Up

Accordingly, the next problem to rear its head, is that Railways Minister MATSUNO is in the cabinet as a representative of the KUHARA faction, and it is a certainty that something will be said about this.

I then called KONOYE and said: "It is being announced that you have decided to form the new party regardless of ARIMA or NAGAI. How about this?" KONOYE replied: "The fact is that I am quite troubled because of that. I cannot possibly go along with KUHARA's group. It will not be very pleasant because it will seem as if I will be utilized to overthrow the government. In regard to the MATSUNO matter, MATSUNO went to see AKITA the day before KUHARA resigned as a councillor and attempted to sever all relations with the administration. AKITA is said to have said: 'Resign by all means and overthrow the cabinet.' I (KONOYE) heard this from AKIYAMA Teisuke. Therefore, I (KONOYE) asked AKIYAMA: 'It would be very troublesome to have MATSUNO resign and make the cabinet shaky. Even if they should ask me to take over, I am not prepared. I would like to have MATSUNO stopped somehow.' AKIYAMA believes that negotiations with Chungking will be settled and is saying that I should not come to the fore until that matter is settled. AKIYAMA is opposed to the New Party Movement."

I called AKITA and asked him what the administration was going to do. AKITA replied: "Whatever KUHARA does, the administration is not very concerned over the matter. We also intend to have MATSUNO remain."

I also called the Premier and learned that neither the Premier nor the Chief Cabinet Secretary were considering this matter as very serious. They contended that they intended to have MATSUNO remain.

Kuhara Acts Up

I later called MATSUNO directly and asked him what he was going to do about the matter. He said: "I am in quite a predicament and I do not want to think of it until after my trip to accompany the Emperor to the Kansai region. KUHARA is a source of trouble."

I again called KONOYE and inquired into the situation, but he said something about being careful and also that ARIMA and NAGAI were very troublesome. I also informed KIDO of the situation, but he also said that we must be very cautious.

Since I had been considering inviting Governor-General KOBAYASHI over once before his return, I invited him over for breakfast on the 8th. KOBAYASHI said: "I have spoken to Prince KONOYE and he said that he is going to be very cautious."

Before the departure of the Emperor for the Kansai region, I called KIDO and informed him of the things I had heard the previous night. He said: "At any rate, there would be great trouble in the administration should become shaky until after the arrival and the return of the Emperor of Manchuria."

I again called the Premier and inquired into the situation, but he did not seem to be too concerned over the matter. However, there was a call from ISHIWATA later and he said: "The patriotic elements of the right wing have united and are making strong anti-new party movements. The movements of such reformists as SUETSUGU, HASHIMOTO or TATEKAWA, are not very strong at the present time, but the united action of the patriotic elements of the right wing is quite strong. One cannot tell which is bad or good, but please convey this situation to KONOYE. It would be very odd for the administration to say anything directly."

On Sunday, the members of the Seiyukai and others came and said this and that, but outside of two or three individuals, I did not meet anyone else. It seems as if they all want to verify whether KONOYE will take over or not.

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Chapter 366
(22 June 1940)

Konoye is Restless

Translator: Lt. Larry Nishihara

Since some of the officers and men of the Imperial Guards Division were to be quartered in my home, I unavoidably had to commute from my home in Oiso. I left my home in Oiso on the morning of the 12th and went to visit KONOYE at his home in Ogikubo at around 9:00 a.m. We spoke for about an hour and a half.

KONOYE said: "Because ARIMA and NAGAI are doing as they please, it is very troublesome. Since it would be troublesome if I were to run away now, I am thinking of forming a new party by calling on the pure youths. However, that which is called the new party by the public today, is far different from my ideals. Therefore, I cannot lead them." I then said: "Instead of saying such things, it would be all right to excuse yourself." However, it seems as if KONOYE himself cannot clearly state that he wishes to be excused.

I again said: "At any rate, this matter of you resigning and forming a new party is serving to excite the public and if the result is the overthrow of the cabinet, then it will not be very pleasant. Therefore, you must also consider that point carefully." KONOYE replied: "If I were to actually resign as the President of the Privy Council, then it would be disastrous. People seem to think that my resigning as the President of the Privy Council would be a bold move on my part, but I did not like it from the beginning and I think nothing of resigning from the position. I believe that it would be very troublesome if I should resign now. Therefore, we must have the Cabinet do a little more, or preparations cannot be made to take over at this time."

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I returned after greeting MATSUOKA who happened to be there at that time. It seems as if he came there because he was returning to his home town and was going to be absent for a short while. On my return, KONOYE said: "I wonder how MATSUOKA would be as a Foreign Minister?" I said: "Well, do things cautiously after consulting with ARITA."

I met ARITA on the 13th and listened to his opinions on the treaty with Thailand. I also mentioned the fact that KONOYE had said something about MATSUOKA. ARITA thought that it might be dangerous, but said: "If it's unavoidable, then there is no other way."

Furthermore, I met Vice Minister TANI and heard the latest developments. TANI said that KONOYE had secretly met KIDO after the return of the Emperor from Kyoto. Therefore, I called KONOYE that evening and he said that his case was hopeless.

On the morning of the 15th, I visited KIDO and inquired into the situation. KIDO said: "The fact is that what I had so irresponsibly let go has finally become inflamed. Even if KONOYE should call on the youths as he proposes, no one would take him seriously. It would be better to resign quietly and plan for the time when he is to take over. I told this to KONOYE." I had thought that KONOYE would have clearly asked me to decline such actions, but unfortunately, he had not. It seems as if he returned sorely troubled.

Later, I met MATSUDAIRA, and also the Premier and the Foreign Minister. When I spoke to the Finance Minister over the telephone, he said: "I will consider the matter of the new party movement carefully. I will not make any sudden decisions."

I left on the 16th for Okitsu and met the Prince on the morning of the 17th. The Prince said: "Just what is the new party movement?" The Prince asked about this matter, but I just made a report on the actual situation. I also told the Prince: "KONOYE

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asked me what the Prince was thinking of the matter. Therefore, I replied that you had said that since KONOYE was the best informed on the situation, there was no other way but to leave it up to the judgement of KONOYE." When I said the above, the Prince laughed. He further stated: "I thought that the French Government would change to Bordeaux and that is just the way it is going to be. The United States is only supplying the munitions and I don't think that they will dispatch any forces overseas. No matter how great HITLER is, the problem is whether he will last for 15 years or not. This was also true in the case of NAPOLEON I. It can also be taken to be a repetition of the situation of a hundred years ago in Germany. However, the future cannot be foretold."

I returned to Oiso on the 16th and met IKEDA. He was also concerned over KONOYE.

There was a call from Home Affairs Minister KODAMA on the 18th. He said: "There was a meeting of relatives at the home of KIDO last night and I heard the following from KIDO rather confidentially: 'KONOYE said that he wished to resign as the President of the Privy Council immediately. This should be done before the arrival of the Manchurian Emperor.' This is a very troubling matter."

I went to Tokyo on the 18th and met the Premier. It seems as if someone came to the Premier and said that since KIDO became the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, he has been maneuvering in coordination with KONOYE. Because of this, the Premier was very angry with KIDO. In regard to this matter, I said: "KIDO had been a sort of an adviser to KONOYE regarding the New Party Movements and also had some connections with minority groups. However, since he has become the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, he has clearly stated that he would not participate in such matters. However, there may be some groups who are propagandizing

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such things thinking that it would be more advantageous to us if the former story is continued even now. If you yourself think that KIDO is continuing such actions in his present position, then it is a misjudgement on your part."

I also spoke of the above matter to the Imperial Household Minister and also said: "I will thoroughly explain to the Premier, the Foreign Minister and the Home Affairs Minister, that KIDO has taken a completely different and cautious attitude since assuming the position of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and that perhaps, there is some influence from the Emperor. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal has also been saying such things. Therefore, if you (Imperial Household Minister) should have an opportunity, I want to ask you to do the same."

I met KIDO on the morning of the 19th and I told him what I had told the Imperial Household Minister. I also told him that I intend to explain further. To this, KIDO replies: "The fact is that before I left, KONOYE came and said that he wanted to resign immediately and asked me to relay this fact to the administration. Therefore, I conveyed this fact to the administration. The reason for KONOYE's desire to resign was that there had been criticism from within the Privy Council that it was not a very good thing for the President to have any connections with actual political problems. There was also strong opposition against the New Party Movement of KONOYE from a portion of the Seisanto of the right wing. Moreover, because KONOYE himself did not have a liking to remain in the position of the President, he wanted to resign. Even if this is carried out, it will probably end in failure, but I believe that KONOYE will never learn unless he meets failure once."

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Chapter 367
(28 June 1940)

Konoye and New Party

Translated by Lt. Larry Nishihara

Late on the night of the 19th, Chief Cabinet Secretary ISHIWATA called KONOYE and said: "Even if your resignation is unavoidable, consider the time for it." This was the message of the Premier and KONOYE replied: "I still want to resign immediately; that is, before the arrival of the Manchurian Emperor."

Later, when I again met KIDO, he said: "We must make it clear that the resignation of KONOYE has absolutely no meaning of overthrowing the cabinet. In view of the present state of affairs, it is a fact that KONOYE has deep concern over the formation of a national unification system. However, there is quite a gap between the present situation and what KONOYE is thinking. Therefore, wouldn't it be better if he resigned with the meaning that he wants to think the matter over quietly?"

On the 20th, TANI and I had dinner at the home of TAKAGI in Miyamuracho and we discussed various matters. TANI said: "We made a proposal to Germany and Italy today. This was that Japan has a deep interest, both politically and economically in French Indo China, and that she wanted Germany and Italy to take a similar attitude in regard to the Rhine. Following this, she would also make a proposal to England and France. This proposal was made by summoning the German and Italian Ambassadors. Furthermore, the administration summoned the French Ambassador and claimed that a great number of trucks were being sent to CHIANG Kai-shek constantly

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through Hanoi in French Indo-China. Therefore, we demanded that they strictly control this. We are not considering the taking of French Indo-China by means of military force, but in the case that our demands are refused, the use of military force may be unavoidable. This matter will be carefully studied further. This was the proposal to the French Government through the French Ambassador."

TANI also mentioned that the reason why there had been no proposals to the French Government was because America's attitude on this matter was not known, and therefore, Japan had been reserved. TANI continued: "Furthermore, ample warning will be given concerning the Burma or 'aid to CHIANG' Route and further demands made." TANI concluded: "We were aware of the fact that a considerable amount of munitions was being sent from the foreign nations to Chungking. This information was obtained by coded telegrams, but it has become much clearer recently that this amounted to a great deal. The administration also took that into consideration and made a strong proposal."

As soon as KONOYE returned on the 22nd, he went to meet the Premier and clarified his intention to resign and it seems as if he wished to resign immediately. I had taken great caution so that the resignation of KONOYE would not cause a change in administrations, but according to MATSUDAIRA's story, KONOYE had said that he could not take over the reigns of government immediately because it would take some time to form the new party. This happened when they met in Kyoto. I believe that it is not the true intention of KONOYE to do anything about the Cabinet immediately after his return. I intend to see KONOYE on the morning of the 23rd.

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I spoke with the Premier on the morning of the 22nd, and it seemed as if he is determined to promote Vice President HARA to the presidency in the event that KONOYE resigns as the President. It also seems that he has the feeling that it would not be too pleasant for the sake of the political world, as well as for the Privy Council, to again have HIRANUMA become the President. When the HIRANUMA Cabinet was previously set up, the present Premier was for a time, quite an admirer of HIRANUMA. But as they worked together, the character of HIRANUMA became apparent and the situation was not very pleasant. Not only did he lack clarity, but there was something underhanded about him (HIRANUMA) and he (Premier) began to be wary of HIRANUMA. From this point of view, it was not unreasonable that the Premier wanted to promote Vice President HARA to the presidency.

On the morning of the 23rd, I went to the home of KONOYE in Ogikubo and we spoke for about two hours. Before KONOYE went on his trip, he said: "Regardless of whether I want to resign or not, it is clear that there will be movements to plan to use me as a tool, so I will not resign. Although I do not wish to remain in the position, I shall because of that reason." In spite of what he had said then, he had suddenly changed and now was saying that he would resign. Therefore, I asked him the reason for this. KONOYE replied: "I met KIDO on this matter and he also said that it would be better for me to resign. He also said that, since the present Cabinet would not last very long, there had better be some preparations for later on ---. There are some very troublesome members among the advisers, and so when the time

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comes for me to resign, I will present something in this nature."

KONOYE then showed me something which resembled a statement. He then said: "Concerning this, ISHIWATA came last night and I showed him this. After he returned, this was shown to the Premier and he is said to have agreed to it.

The following are the contents of the statement:

"Everyone recognizes the necessity to decide upon a national unification political system. Therefore, I shall resign as the President of the Privy Council and I will exert myself as best I may as a private citizen for the establishment of such a system. If the New Party Movements, which have become quite active, should mean that it is for the establishment of such a new political system, then that is fine. However, if this is simply a change in the existing political parties or if it is a move aimed at the present political regime, then I cannot work together with them. The establishment of a true national unification system is a very difficult matter. However, I believe that the extremely important domestic and foreign situation demands the realization of such a system. These are the reasons why I am resigning as the President of the Privy Council."

KONOYE continued: "I want you to explain this matter thoroughly when you go to Okitsu and also to show this statement to the Prince. If the Prince should ask what is to be done later, say that since there is no use in saying this and that about the matter, it should be left up to the Premier." This was because it seemed as if the administration was considering HIRANUMA as a candidate at

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that time.

When I met KIDO recently, he said that the reason for KONOYE's desire to resign is that there has been some criticism from the advisers. Also, that there had been some opposition against the new party from the Seisanto of the right wing. Another was that he had wanted to resign from that position from before. We also discussed that the administration had replied: "Although it was KONOYE's business to resign, he should consider the matter of time." This was sent to KONOYE while he was staying at a hotel in Kyoto via the telephone by Chief Cabinet Secretary ISHIWATA. The fact that both KIDO and I were worried over the actions of KONOYE was because we feared that this might give rise to the overthrow of the Cabinet. Another was that although KONOYE keenly felt the need for a national unification political system, the New Party Movements which appeared recently seemed to appear quite different from the ideals of KONOYE concerning the new system. We wondered whether they agreed with him or not. Therefore, we had not been considering that KONOYE would lead the New Party Movements. KONOYE himself had been hoping for the continuance in office of the YONAI Cabinet as long a period of time as possible. These were the things which KIDO and I discussed the other day.

I left for Okitsu on the one o'clock train. As soon as I reached, there was a call from Chief Cabinet Secretary ISHIWATA. He said: "It has been decided that Vice-President HARA will be promoted to the presidency and just what is the opinion of the Prince on this matter?" I went to the home of the Prince at about 5:00 p.m. and informed him of this. I also informed him as to the

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attitude of KONOYE concerning his resignation and of the processes which lead to the resignation. As to the successor to the presidency, the Prince said: "That would be fine." I immediately conveyed this message to the Chief Cabinet Secretary. At that time, I also asked whether MINAMI would become the vice-president and ISHIWATA replied that matters were not clear on that point.

There was another call from ISHIWATA on the morning of the 24th at around 10:30, and he said: "The resignation of KONOYE has been accepted. The Premier reported to the Throne on this matter and with the permission of the Emperor, proposed HARA for the presidency. Since the Emperor agreed to this, it was decided that HARA would become the president. The Installation Ceremonies will be held at 2:00 p.m.

I returned to Oiso on the train at a little past noon and stayed overnight. I returned to Tokyo the following morning and visited KIDO. KIDO said: "It seems as if the Emperor was quite perplexed over whether to appoint HIRANUMA or HARA in the beginning. At that time, I informed the Emperor: 'I believe that HARA is quite narrow-minded, but since the Premier requests that he be placed in the position, he must have some plan. Therefore, after he has given his opinion on the matter, you should give your approval, if you can assent. If you cannot, then please summon me for another conference after the Premier has gone.' At that time, the Emperor asked me: 'Is MINAMI going to become the vice-president?' To this, I replied that it was not very clear as yet. When the Premier came to the Palace, I met him and informed

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him that I had said such and such things to the Emperor and to be prepared for it. Since the Emperor was quite concerned over the fact that MINAMI might become the vice-president, I also told the Premier to include that matter also.

"When the Premier was received in audience, the Emperor gave his assent. Furthermore, the Premier conveyed to the Emperor that MINAMI would not become the vice-president and it seems as if the Emperor was quite relieved." Listening to this and considering matters, I (HARADA) could not help but respect KIDO. This was because this was the first case of personnel for KIDO and an important one at that, and he had stood between the Premier and the Emperor and had assumed an impartial and an unselfish attitude.

Later, I visited President HARA of the Privy Council and offered my congratulations. HARA said: "When I spoke with the Premier on the matter of the vice-presidency, he recommended Gen. KAWAI. I recommended Admiral SUZUKI. Since Admiral SUZUKI was the naval superior of the Premier, the Premier was quite reserved. As for myself, I thought that SUZUKI was a fine man and I had given him my full support when he became a councillor. Since I insisted on SUZUKI, the Premier finally acceded and he was appointed. The Premier himself did not recommend SUZUKI."

On the 27th, I met the Imperial Household Minister at the Army Hall and asked him to convey the felicitations of the Prince to the Emperor of Manchukuo who had arrived in Tokyo yesterday. Later, I registered at the Akasaka Detached Palace.

From between 8:00 a.m. and 9:00 a.m. of the 28th,

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I visited the Premier at his private residence. The Premier said: "There are various movements and instead of coming from the front they seem to be planned in the rear. I am thinking of exposing this when the opportunity presents itself and gather them up." I then said: "Because you did not propose HIRANUMA, but promoted Vice-President HARA, it has met with public approval." It seems as if the Premier had been informed along those lines. for he laughed and said that that was the way things are.

The Premier had already known of the rumors such as KONOYE being recommended; NAGAI Ryutaro becoming the Chief Cabinet Secretary; SHIRATORI becoming the Foreign Minister; KOISO becoming the Home Affairs Minister, etc. The Premier just said: "I will remain silent, but when the time comes to act, I shall." He maintained a very dignified attitude. The Premier had often laughed and asked me: "I wonder if KONOYE really means to do it." It seemed as if the Premier had some doubt that KONOYE would quit in the middle of everything. Later, the Premier told me: "This only serves to agitate the public and is a troublesome matter." I left the Premier by saying that we should meet again, and the Premier seemed to be in very high spirits.

On the way home, I visited the home of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and spoke to him of the foregoing matters.

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Chapter 368 (A)
(2 July 1940)

Arita Complains

Translated by Miss Fumiko Segawa

On the morning of the 29th, I stopped in at KIDO's and talked with him on various matters. I told him: "I am meeting KONOYE tonight. Do you have anything you want me to ask him?" KIDO replied: "Nothing special, but isn't there anyone that is capable of assisting KONOYE in administering his duties; someone that will substitute for KONOYE and deal with the people that come to see him on various matters and listen to their views? It is very difficult for KONOYE to handle matters alone. I think GOTO Fumio is suitable for that position. Is there any capable person that you know?" KIDO seemed worried about this matter. Therefore, I answered: "Well, anyway, when I see KONOYE this evening, I shall suggest it to him."

I then stopped at ARITA's place. ARITA said: "I was up till 4:00 a.m. this morning because I had to prepare the script for a radio broadcast which I am scheduled to do this afternoon. When I (Foreign Minister) discussed the matter with the Navy Minister, the Premier and the War Minister, I said: 'Let us, either by means of newspapers or radio broadcasts, give the public a general common-sense view of diplomatic affairs without delving too deeply into the subject.' They all agreed to this. I did not think it necessary to discuss the subject formally or officially and I did not expect to give this speech today. Thinking it would take place sometime in the future, I hardly thought it would be this afternoon

Arita Complains

until I saw the write-up in the newspapers. The Army and the Navy said: 'It is outrageous for you (ARITA) to do this without consulting us.' The Army, in particular, takes liberty in deciding important matters without any consultation, and when something like this happens, they raise a commotion and ask that the matter be clarified. This is really inexcusable. However, since it is the trend of the times, I thought it inevitable. Therefore, the vice-ministers met and after much consultation, they reached an understanding and it was finally decided to do this radio broadcast this afternoon. If I am to make any broadcasts, I cannot be too unscrupulous in my speech. Therefore, last night, without sleeping a wink, I prepared my script."

On the way back, I passed by the official residence of the Finance Minister. Therefore, I dropped in and chatted with Finance Minister SAKURAUCHI on various subjects. Minister SAKURAUCHI was very doubtful on points such as the development of the new political party and about KONOYE's determination, etc. He said: "Premier YOMAI is saying: 'If I am sure of the formation of a better party and if that is necessary, I am willing to have KONOYE take my place.'" The Finance Minister said: "At any rate, I would like to have a talk with you according to the development of the future situation." Just before leaving, the Finance Minister told me: "The other time, when I met KIDO at the Imperial Palace, he told me: 'Such being my standpoint, hereafter if anything occurs, please relate it to HARADA.'"

That same night, I went to the HOSOKAWA's. The wife of Marquis HOSOKAWA's eldest son (KONOYE's daughter),

Arita Complains

had been ill and in a critical condition. Therefore, KONOYE told me: "I am going over to see her, so let's meet at the HOSOKAWA's." Therefore that evening, I met KONOYE leisurely at the HOSOKAWA's.

KONOYE said: "It is very embarrassing to have the Ministers make individual broadcasts at their own discretion. The other day, KAZAMI came and worriedly said: 'Isn't there any way of clarifying this rumor? Isn't there anyone that can handle this situation?' ARIMA wrote me a letter stating that he is sorry for causing trouble and that hereafter, he would use prudence in his speech and actions. All that is required of ARIMA is to jeer at me and their objectives are attained. Nevertheless, this has been already attained, so nothing need be done."

KONOYE related to me what USHIBA told him the other day. He said: "Not once have I used the word 'new party'. The national unity political system should not only include the legislative body, but the administrative body and in a sense, the supreme command as well. This is not merely a problem of the legislative organ. Therefore, I am of the opinion that the government should also take this problem into consideration. When I told USHIBA: 'Never have I used the word 'new party'', USHIBA left saying: 'Well, you have caught me this time.' Yesterday, I told Chief Cabinet Secretary ISHIWATA: 'Such problems should be completely handled by the Government.' If the Government so desires, I do not mind being the president (of the 'new party')." KONOYE asked me: "Please relate this to the Premier and the Chief Cabinet Secretary." I answered: "Yes, I'll do so," and left.

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At that time, I thought that KONOYE was at wit's end with the 'new party movement' because various groups were scheming and ostracizing one another. KONOYE is incapable of segregating the good and the bad groups. Besides, KONOYE has no competent man to assist him. I thought to myself that KONOYE probably desires the government to regulate this, since there was no other way. I suppose KONOYE came to this decision after having a difficult time.

Early on the morning of the 30th, I telephoned ISHIMATA and the Premier, and told them about the talk I had with KONOYE last evening. I told them that KONOYE had said: "Consideration should be given on the establishment, purpose, and the materialization of the national unity political system, and then organize a committee. If the government has that in mind, KONOYE will be delighted to become its president." I continued: "In KONOYE's conversation, he stated: 'I have no intention of overthrowing the Cabinet.' Since this point is clear, there is no worry."

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Chapter 368 (B)
(2 July 1940)

Kempei Detain Suma

Translated by Miss Fumiko Segawa

I then telephoned ARITA. He said: "I want to speak to you, so please drop in before you leave for Okitsu." Therefore, I went to see ARITA at noon. ARITA said: "The other day, KOBAYASHI Shoichiro came and said: 'It appears that KONOYE is having a difficult time with the 'new party'. Wouldn't it be possible for the government to organize a Committee for the National Unity Political System and KONOYE act in concert with the government.' KOBAYASHI spoke about his past relations with KONOYE. I wonder if KOBAYASHI is that intimate with KONOYE?"

Therefore, I immediately telephoned KONOYE and inquired about KOBAYASHI. KONOYE said: "I was introduced to him by SHIGA. He used to come to me for advice concerning various matters pertaining to SHIGA after his death. Personally, I like him. However, KOBAYASHI Shoichiro is very close with YOSHIDA Masuzo, of the Nippon Seisanto. YOSHIDA is very much against the 'new party' and severely criticizes me, but probably KOBAYASHI Shoichiro must have expressed his personal feelings when he showed good-will towards me." I related this exactly to ARITA.

I left for Shizuoka on the 3:00 o'clock train. On the morning of July 1st, I telephoned UCHIDA Shinya on business. UCHIDA stated: "You have probably heard about this, but I heard it just now. SUMA, the Chief of the Information Bureau of the Foreign Office, was questioned by Kempei yesterday and then released. It seems that it has some connection with ARITA's radio broadcast. Before

Kempei Detain Suma

conducting this questioning, newspaper reporters from the Nichi-Nichi, Chugai, and Yomiuri, had been called in as witnesses. It seems that the political situation is getting critical."

Since UGHIDA spoke harshly over the phone, I immediately telephoned ARITA. ARITA had already left for the Foreign Office and was not in. I then telephoned MATSUDAIRA and inquired about the situation. MATSUDAIRA stated: "I heard from Vice-Minister TANI that a Kempei 2nd lieutenant went to SUMA's place and said: 'We have some questions to ask you and want you to come over to the Kempeitai Headquarters. We do not want it to be conspicuous, so come quietly as though you just dropped in while taking a walk.' Therefore, SUMA went to the Kempei-tai Headquarters immediately. At the Kempei-tai Headquarters, he saw the Nichi-Nichi, Yomiuri and Chugai reporters. The Kempei questioned SUMA: 'Did you say that these three wrote the article?' SUMA replied: 'I do not recall making such a statement. I can prove to you the fact that there were twenty to thirty newspaper reporters present besides them, but they did not write up anything. You might even question them. The three newspaper reporters must have misunderstood it and written it up in the papers.' The Kempei replied: 'Yes, I understand.' Therefore, SUMA returned immediately. Centered around this problem, the affair became exaggerated. The young officers in the War Ministry, a faction in the General Staff Headquarters and the rightists (ultra-nationalists), made it appear as though they would overthrow the Cabinet. The situation is very delicate." I reported this matter in general to Prince SAIONJI and returned to Tokyo on the 12:00 o'clock train. I then

Kempeitai Detain Suma

inquired about the situation.

With the prospect that the China Incident is drawing to a close, the Army did not want the YONAI Cabinet, which they so disapproved, to take the credit. This statement of ARITA's concerning positive non-interference was so comprehensive that what the Army wanted to say, ARITA had said it first. Being preceded by ARITA, the Army became very antagonistic towards ARITA. Therefore, a tendency of overthrowing the Cabinet has become increasingly stronger.

On the evening of the 1st, many newspaper reporters came and stated: "The political situation is very dubious. Who will be next?" Therefore, I answered: "Nonsense, nothing will happen."

On the morning of the 2nd, when I spoke to ARITA, he said: "Yesterday, when I had an interview with the War Minister and the Premier, the War Minister incessantly said: 'Peace and order will not be restored in the War Ministry until SUMA, the Chief of the Information Bureau is relieved from his post.' HATA's attitude is very dubious also. Premier YONAI asked HATA: 'Have you read the written testimony of SUMA, made at the Kempeitai Headquarters?' HATA answered: 'No, not yet.' Therefore, the Premier said: 'Then, we must both study this matter, and they decided to meet again.'" Foreign Minister ARITA said: "HATA's attitude is suspicious. I am thinking of seeing the Premier leisurely sometime today."

I telephoned the Premier and asked: "Is it true that the interview with the War Minister yesterday was mysterious?" The Premier laughingly replied: "The matter will be settled sometime today. Just wait and see." It appeared

Kempei Detain Suma

that the Premier himself was making up his mind. Some-
time ago, the Premier expressed his determination and
said: "If they bring up something again, I'll disclose
it to the public and take drastic steps." The outcome
of this is undetermined yet, but I feel that the Army's
attitude is outrageous and unfair.

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Chapter 369
(10 July 1940)

Assassination Plot

Translated by Sgt. Sadaki Teshima

On the 3rd, the Premier conferred with the War Minister. Three or four days later, the Foreign Minister, the War Minister, the Premier and the Navy Minister held a Four Ministers' Conference. As a result, the Navy Minister explained that the combined statements of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and War Ministry were presented on the 5th. Things seemed settled on the surface. To say the matter leaked, or the responsibility lies on SUMI (Minister to Switzerland) or on ARITA is the feeling displayed by part of the militarists to somehow criticize the foreign policy and break up the Cabinet. Actually, according to what I heard, it is said that the Kempeitai were even planning to take Chief Secretary ISHIWATA and Foreign Minister ARITA to the Kempeitai and make matters unpleasant for them.

After this, newspaper reporters came incessantly to inquire at my (HARADA) residence, and since they made derogation remarks about ARITA and the Cabinet, I (HARADA) kept quiet and listened. But, when these criticisms became too severe, I said: "Well, I don't think he (ARITA) is as bad a person as you say, and the Cabinet won't collapse so easily." Such statements were taken in high esteem by the newspaper reporters.

Since part of the military faction resented my (HARADA) attitude, Chief Secretary ISHIWATA cautioned me and said: "It is better that you stop shielding the government so openly." Although, I (HARADA) surely

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won't do such a thing as to shield it positively, I think that my efforts to deny such foolish rumors assumed the shape that I was protecting the government which brought upon their resentment.

Since things were quite troublesome, I (HARADA) thought of going to Oiso for two or three days, and left on the 3rd. At dawn of the 4th, I had a phone call from my Tokyo residence around 4:20 a.m. saying that at about 4:00 o'clock, the Metropolitan Police phoned and said: "An incident similar to the Feb. 26 Incident has occurred. It is said that the attack will begin at exactly 6:00 o'clock and we shall send many policemen over." Although they said that I (HARADA) had gone to Oiso and was absent, the Metropolitan Police said:

"Proper arrangements will be made." Furthermore, the Metropolitan Police asked to have me informed about this. The police also warned me (HARADA) that it would be better for me to leave Oiso as soon as possible. Therefore, I immediately woke up one of the policemen on guard, who was dressed only in a 'yukata' (a kind of kimono), and carrying one suitcase, we headed towards Ninomiya to my friend's villa where we spent the night. That evening, the situation became clear and though it is said that it is something like the Feb. 26 Incident, the Army did not go into action. About 47 members of the MAEDA faction of the Shimpeitai had as their first objective in assassination, Premier YONAI, as government representative; MAKINO, Admiral OKADA and Imperial Household Minister MATSUDAIRA as representatives of the high court officials; IKEDA, representing the financial clique; and HARADA as the pro-British messenger. The

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second objective was ARITA and IMACHIDA, and it is rumored that they had a third objective. As I (HARADA) was thinking of the incident while walking along, I heard the radios on and ringing of private telephones. There were even phone calls from Tokyo, so I (HARADA) gathered that this wasn't too serious a matter. On the morning of the 5th, the Minister of Home Affairs phoned me and said that on the evening of the 4th, most of the conspirators had been arrested and most of the weapons such as hand grenades, Japanese swords, pistols and gasoline seized. Forty members of the group have been arrested and of these groups, seven or eight persons are still at large, but since most of these men are unarmed, he told me not to worry. (This was the Imperial Friends Riot Incident). Therefore, I (HARADA) left for Oiso again that very morning. I rested at Oiso on the 6th and 7th, and on the night of the 7th, went to the villa of Marquis HACHISUKA at Atami. After having supper with HACHISUKA, I went to Okitsu. On the morning of the 8th, I met Prince SAIONJI and reported on the past incidents.

Previously, in the morning, when I talked to MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, he said that at the lecture-meeting held in commemoration of the ~~third~~ anniversary of the July 7 Incident, someone leaped onto the platform and interrupted Foreign Minister ARITA's speech. Because of this incident, it interrupted the radio program although it wasn't considered much of a problem. According to the telephone conversation, ARITA had been pushed over. However this was entirely false.

Just on this day, the Emperor and Empress were going

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to Hayama, and before Their Majesties left, I (HARADA) called up KIDO and said: "The Army is useless and can hardly deal with the Incident unless the present Cabinet changes. In order to change the foreign policy, we must also change the Cabinet, because the situation has become critical and that the Cabinet won't last for long."

I (HARADA) also talked to ARITA over the phone, and ARITA said: "The situation is grave. One can't say what the Army will do. The attitude of the Army is very strange indeed."

After reporting all the details to the Prince (SAIONJI), I then went back to Atami, and after having dinner at HACHISUKA's residence, went home to Oiso in the evening.

There were frequent broadcasts that if KONOYE returns on the 10th, the Army will immediately overthrow the Cabinet and form a new Cabinet with the so-called new political party having KONOYE as its head. So, on the 1st, I inquired about the situation over the phone, and KONOYE said: "It is very complicated now. I simply can't make any preparations, so it's useless now. Since it's so bothersome, though I said I am returning to Tokyo on the 10th, I'm going to extend the date."

I (HARADA) came back to Tokyo on the 9th, and upon returning, phoned KONOYE again in Karuizawa. There was some misunderstanding concerning the conversation I (HARADA) had with the Premier and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and considerable slander was being committed. Premier YONAI had said: "KONOYE has consented to take over the succeeding Cabinet, and has consented to the political change." To this KONOYE said: "Nonsense. It

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is not so."

Furthermore, on one hand, it is also said that the government, thinking of cooperating with the problem of the 'new order', sent Chief Secretary ISHIWATA to KONOYE on that matter, but KONOYE stated that it was absolutely unnecessary for him to meet ISHIWATA. Therefore, after speaking to KONOYE, it has become clear to me (HARADA) for the first time that this story was an exaggerated rumor. Then KONOYE said: "If ISHIWATA should come, of course, I (KONOYE) will gladly see him."

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